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Party Comrade Hess

NO PARACHUTE ever deposited such an enigma. To what extent a traitor, to what extent insane, with what deliberate purpose and cool decision, as a result of what political or personal crisis, did Hess come dropping from the skies? The British being what they are, there will be no third degree, no torture, to make Hess speak: the Germans being what they are, it is probable that Hess will at once speak, explain, demonstrate and exhort, by day and by night. It is not probable that to either the British or to the Germans or to ourselves will it be granted to hear his views uncensored.

Of course his most eager audience would be German. The British, no matter what may be the cause or purpose of his visit, have already had their fun. But the Germans have lost an extremely prominent leader and they have been told that he frequented astrologers, read tea leaves, suffered hallucinations and had escaped from his nurses. Yet, as late as May 1, the doctors and authorities of the Reich were allowing this potential lunatic to remain third in line for Hitler's succession and, in this regrettably double capacity, to hire and fire and speak in the name of the party. It is true that for many years nazi leaders have lived under incalculable strain, and that any one of them should now break under it is not astonishing. Insanity, suicide and murder have always been very close to the "hero," considered either in the Greek or the German conception of the word. But when Hess flew to Scotland he was obeying no ordinary pattern of collapse. Sane or insane, he was abandoning Hitler, the man to whom he had dedicated a career of devotion, and he was seeking Churchill, Hitler's determined enemy. As the Germans hint, it may be that he was moved to do so because he thought, in his madness, that he possessed the key to peace. It may be—since no man can be entirely consistent—that he could not endure a closer alliance with Russia, an identification of his party with the Communist Party. It may be, as Hitler's plans became increasing inacceptable to him, that his life was endangered and that he fled to save it. It may even be that this is a new nazi method to make sure that German diplomatic representatives will not pass un-noticed in the countries to which they are sent. Hess, whose flight was prefigured in Peter Fleming's little fancy, "The Flying Visit," may end as a character in a Hitchcock film of international intrigue. He may even end as a Hessian. We shall have some indication as to the part he means to play when Churchill tells us what he chooses to tell of what will be one of the strangest conversations in modern history.

A Chance to Mend Some Fences

THERE is every indication that rural areas are to share in the temporary boom occasioned by rearmament and aid to Britain. There are, to be sure, shortages of farm labor thanks to the draft and the lure of high wages paid in the defense industries. A number of farm leaders also maintain that defense contracts are too heavily concentrated in certain urban areas. But the principal worry of the nation's commercial growers, who bulk so large in the agricultural picture, is how to get good prices when so much of a surplus from previous years remains piled up. The national debt is reaching out toward even greater astronomic proportions, and anxiety has been considerable over the talk of economizing on non-defense expenditures. Much of this concern should be dispelled by the compromise agreement reached by House and Senate Committees and the approval by the House of the Bankhead-Fullmer Bill raising the crop loan rate on cotton, corn, rice, tobacco and wheat from 75 to 85 percent of parity. When soil conservation payments are added to cash parity payments, it should give producers of these five primary crops full parity purchasing power to buy non-farm products (this being calculated on a basis of what specific units of each crop would buy in the 1909-1914 period). The Commodity Credit Corporation estimates that it will need $1,000,000,000 to $1,200,000,000 to meet all eligible loans, although the fact that tobacco and rice are already at parity levels and that

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other prices generally are rising may mean considerable sales of 1941 crops in the open market. Figures for the estimated rise in the cost of living resulting from these measures vary from 5 to 20 percent. Cotton and tobacco quotas are already in force, and the producers of the other three crops are expected to agree to cut down acreages to allotted proportions in order to enjoy the 85 percent parity loans on what they do grow (96.22c a bu. for wheat, 69.87c for corn, etc.). The Federal Office of Price Administration is working toward expanding (after years of contraction) production of dairy products, pork, chicken, eggs and certain canning vegetables to meet the needs of American armed forces and ordinary citizens as well as Great Britain under the lend-lease program. Prices of industrial goods are to be kept down. It is good to hear that the farmer is to have some share in whatever prosperity is in store for an America in arms. And if he makes the most of the opportunity by reducing his debts and making essential repairs, not to mention diversifying his acreages, the American farmer will provide a counterweight of security when the inevitable day of reckoning comes.

Italian War Relief

IT WAS something lacking in generosity for the State Department to clamp down on the Federation of the Italian World War Veterans in the USA and the Ladies Auxiliary of the Providence Branch of the same federation. By the State Department's own record, both had done their work creditably. In the period September, 1939, through March 28, 1941, people in the US have contributed $26,806,718.16 to war relief at an average administrative expense of just under ten percent. The Italian veterans in the same period raised $82,236.65 at a cost of a fraction over one percent, and the ladies raised $6,609.68 at no cost whatever. None of the considerable German, and very little other fund raising, has been done so cheaply. (One proud exception is the Bishops' Committee for Polish Relief which spent $62.73 to raise $396,740.04.)

But the Italian funds, it seems, were being spent through governmental agencies, and were therefore in violation of Section 8 (b) of the Neutrality Act of 1939. So the veterans must cease and desist. It is incredible that all other funds raised have been dispensed by simon-pure, non-governmental agencies. Yet only the Italian veterans and their ladies have been clamped down on. Which may seem a suitable gesture to Mr. Hull, but seems to us both politics and bad politics. Italians need relief badly enough, and they are people. And there are a lot of them here who now cannot contribute to help their European cousins, since probably there are in fact no totally non-governmental agencies for dispensing charity in all Italy. Italian totalitarianism hits Italians once again, but what is it doing to us?

Merchandising Art

IT WAS a brilliant merchandising idea which prompted New York's Messrs. Hammer and Gimbel to get together over the disposal of the vast residue of the Hearst collection (in includes, by the way, religious art of of many periods). Every element in it favored the scheme's success. Thousands of Americans would like to own works of art, but are frightened off by the solemnities and prices reputedly prevalent along Fifty-seventh Street. But Americans are quite used to going to department stores, and they feel somehow safe on such familiar ground, free as it is of cutaways and spats and supercilious young gentlemen. Then too a department store's advertising budget insures an amount of newspaper publicity which an art gallery could never hope to achieve. So the deal was made, to almost everybody's satisfaction. It has worked so well that now Gimbel Brothers is disposing of eight additional art collections, and they are talking of making art a permanent line of merchandise. Perhaps the idea might be extended a little, might include works of art by living artists. To do this might mean a veritable revolution for American artists, whose precarious livings have so long been dependent on the fickle patronage of the very rich.

The Environment of the Encyclicals

THE SOCIAL, political and economic environment today differs profoundly from that of Leo XIII, in 1891, when he issued *Rerum Novarum*. Most apparent is the transformed status of individualism. Pope Pius XI, summarizing in *Quadragesimo Anno* the benefits due principally and in part to the earlier "Magna Charta . . . in *social* matters," clearly indicates Pope Leo's line of attack: (1) In the Church "was evolved a truly Christian social science." (2) In the state, "the tottering tenets of Liberalism" were completely overthrown, and governments passed laws and inaugurated policies dealing with social and economic questions. (3) Trade unions grew and flourished, and, while "associations of employers . . . did not meet with the same success," there were "certain experiments far from negligible."

Rerum Novarum is principally concerned with the "relative rights and mutual duties of the rich and of the poor, of Capital and of Labor." The raging conflict then was fairly clearly between employers and employees, a two-class warfare of fairly simple lineament. The encyclical demonstrated the reality and claims of the common welfare as distinct from private advantage. It focused

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study upon social and public ethics; urged the action of government in the economic sphere as being a public as well as private concern; recommended that persons join together and organize for common action in the fields of their daily work. It may be said to have stressed the legitimacy of claims by groups against individuals.

Since then a most extreme form of statism has entered history. The "condition of Labor" in reference to capital remains a central problem in this country and in a few more, but the great problem appears increasingly to concern the individual's relationship—his rights and duties—against the state, against the party and even against the organizations purportedly of workingmen themselves. Collectivities have indeed obtained their rights against individuals, and the pendulum has been swinging since the Russian, Italian and German revolutions, far beyond the balance which is the Popes' ideal.

Thus great emphasis is given by Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno* to "gradation in functions. . . . It is an injustice, a grave evil and a disturbance of right order for a larger and higher organization to arrogate to itself functions which can be performed efficiently by smaller and lower bodies."

Both encyclicals teach much of a negative and also positive nature by criticisms of socialism. Leo XIII bases important elements of his teaching in this regard upon a study of private property and of ownership. Pius XI adds particularly a powerful emphasis upon the twofold aspect of ownership and labor, "which is individual or social according as it regards individuals or concerns the common good." Possession and use are distinguished in right and duty. The state is given its right to determine what is licit and illicit for property owners in the use of their possessions. There is a parallel "social and individual character of labor." In fifty, and even ten years the pendulum has swung here again beyond the golden mean. The totalitarian governments have shown how to exploit this twofold aspect of ownership as a technique for administering an illegitimate statist economy incorporating within itself many of the evils the Popes have shown adhere to socialism. Pius XI commented on the changes in socialism, dividing that movement into a sharp "communism" and a "mitigated socialism." The new type "national socialism," with a totalitarian party utilizing techniques of capitalism, socialism and simple tyranny all tied into a unitary scheme, is another step away from the individualism of fifty years ago. The evils found in socialism no longer depend upon full government ownership of property.

The environment in which we read the encyclicals changes from year to year. We have to study through to their principles and teachings from the midst of different alarms and different dangers. To actuate the principles we must overcome the changing error and altering shortcomings in our own societies. Unfortunately there is an irrespressible tendency to notice only the contents of the documents which apply to the transitory troubles which engage us personally at the time. Thus we tend to miss the balance inherent in the social doctrines and recommendations of the Church and plunge from extreme to extreme.

So far, for fifty years, the public has not given that serious attention to Leo XIII's important passage on private property which its position in the encyclical certainly indicates it should receive. The examination of property and ownership appears at first unrealistically confined to a consideration of land, whereas land has become a less and less important form of property in our civilization. That in itself ought to be a warning to modern society. But we may assume the principles enunciated are supposed to apply to other property also; Leo XIII and his associates were extremely intelligent and were most obviously aware of the development of other forms of property; at one place the encyclical explicity says an observation holds, "whether the property consists of land or chattels." But the irresponsible type of absentee ownership exercised by the wealthy during these fifty years, and the abstract type of ownership through citizenship in a socialist owning state which was looked for by revolutionists, would neither one fit the papal ideas.

There is an important passage on the right use of money in *Rerum Novarum* which has been sedulously overlooked. Economic study and worry have been cultivated much too exclusively from the classical and Marxist angle of production. The approach from the consumer's end, from spending, from "home economics" has not been taken seriously. Economists will no longer even try to define waste. Moralists rarely concern themselves with extravagance.

Finally, there is implicit in Leo's encyclical a conception of the state as above all interest of group and class, as true representative of the common good, all the people. As the world went from the day when excessive individualism was the overwhelmingly dangerous threat to the time when the development of excessive statism was close at hand, Pius XI wrote one of the most eloquent passages in *Quadragesimo Anno*: "The state, which should be the supreme arbiter, ruling in kingly fashion far above all party contention, intent only upon justice and the common good, has become instead a slave, bound over to the service of human passion and greed."

The same Pontiff told pilgrims in Rome: "We have promised to give you something very short and which can put into three words all the eloquence of the *Rerum Novarum* and of the *Quadragesimo Anno*. . . . Here are the three words: prayer, action, sacrifice."

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Leo XIII and Credit Unions

Social justice cannot be fruitful without love of neighbor.

By the Most Reverend **Aloisius J. Muench**

THE SOCIAL ETHICS of the epoch-making encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on the condition of workingmen take on a new significance for our day. The principles enunciated in this encyclical are as timely now as when they were first proclaimed to the world on that memorable day, May 15, 1891. The encyclical is a document that sets forth basic social principles rather than a social program. Social programs are devised to fit certain conditions of time and place; they change, therefore, as the times change. Social programs come and go, not so social principles.

It was not the purpose of Leo XIII to enunciate a social program. He wrote his encyclical for all the world. With varying social conditions in different parts of the world, it was impossible to set forth a social program that would have fitted into the different social conditions prevailing in different countries. That he had in mind chiefly the enunciation of basic social principles may be seen from what he said about the organization of labor unions. He wrote: "We do not deem it possible to enter into definite details on the subject of organization; this must depend on national character, on practice and experience, on the nature and scope of the work to be done, on the magnitude of the various trades and employments and on other circumstances of fact and of time, all of which must be carefully weighed. Speaking summarily, we may lay it down as a general and perpetual law that workmen's associations should be so organized and governed as to furnish the best and the most suitable means for attaining the end aimed at, that is to say, for helping each individual member to better his condition so far as he can in mind, body and property." In other words, the Church is not concerned with social techniques; these are left to the experts in their respective fields. The late Pius XI took pains to make that clear in a number of his encyclicals. In his encyclical on the reconstruction of the social order, commemorating the fortieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum,* he said that while the Church cannot relinquish her God-given task to interpose her authority in all matters which have a bearing on moral conduct, it would be wrong for her to interfere in technical matters for which she has neither the mission nor the equipment. This basic principle he reiterated on two other occasions. Archbishop Williams, Birmingham, England, expressed the whole matter succinctly in his Lenten pastoral of this year: "Beware of committing the Catholic Church to any particular reforms which you or anyone else may advocate. Such reforms may be sound translations into practice of the principles which the Church teaches; they may be inspired by the teaching of the Pope; but a particular social, economic program is not the primary business of the Church; her mission is to save souls for God; all else is subordinate."

Keeping this in mind we look in vain for an endorsement of credit unions in the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum.* This great Pope of the Workingman must have been aware of their existence and the good they were doing. Credit unions had come into being forty years before the publication of his encyclical. F. W. Raffeisen, mayor of a rural village in the Rhineland, organized the first credit union in 1849. The banks he founded became known as "Raffeisen Kassen." From Germany they spread rapidly to all European countries. In the French-speaking countries they were called "caisses populaires," a name still used among French-Canadians. This name describes these thrift and loan associations well, for they are in the best sense of the word peoples' banks. A French-Canadian, Alphonse Desjardins, founded the first caisse populaire on the North American continent. He started it forty-one years ago at Levis in the Province of Quebec. Its success led to the formation of these thrift and loan associations in other cities and villages of the Province. They were practically all parish credit unions. In 1905, in cooperation with Monsignor Pierre Hevey, he started the first credit union in St. Mary's Parish, Manchester, New Hampshire. The first credit union in the United States, therefore, was a parish credit union. Other parishes took up the idea.

Edward Filene

Mr. Edward Filene, a Boston merchant, however, became the driving force behind the credit union movement in the United States; a philanthropist, in whose bosom throbbed a heart generous for the poor, he spent more than a million dollars to publicize the idea of credit unions, to dispel fears and misgivings with regard to them,

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and to have legislatures pass credit union enabling laws. The first credit union law was enacted in Massachusetts in 1909. Today, in addition to a federal credit union law, all but six states have such laws. Although the credit union movement is only about thirty years old in the United States, there are already some 8,500 credit unions in operation. Two and one-half million people are members, whose savings amount to almost two hundred million dollars. The volume of business is increasing rapidly. In 1939 the amount of money loaned to members was about 245 million dollars. The loss rate has been exceptionally low, about seven one-hundredths of one percent of the amount loaned, that is, seven cents were lost on each one hundred dollars loaned. Such figures speak for themselves.

Credit unions are a part of the cooperative movement. They furnish credit on a cooperative basis. For this reason they have become an integral, and even essential part, of the famous cooperative movement in Nova Scotia. Within less than a decade there are now forty-five thousand people in three hundred and eight credit unions in the three Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia, with total assets of $1,100,000.00. They continue to make steady progress. Because of increased business, a number of credit unions there have now taken on full-time managers. As a result some have doubled their business.

In principle Leo XIII favored cooperative enterprises such as credit unions. Against the extreme individualism of the amoral liberalism of his day, he defended the right of workers to associate not only in the defense of other fundamental rights, but also for beneficent purposes. The radical individualism of the eighteenth century had denied to workers the right to associate. The Chapelier law in France (enacted in 1792) made all associations illegal. In England matters did not go so far, but men like Adam Smith were under the spell of the ideas of extreme freedom afloat in the second half of the eighteenth century. Following Jean Jacques Rousseau, with his romantic ideas on the innate goodness of man, designers of social programs held that all associations, organizations or unions thwarted and hampered the efforts of "the good social man." Therefore the less there was of government intervention and the less of restrictive regulations of associations the better. For many decades it was held to be a felony, punishable under laws of conspiracy, for working men to combine. The common law of England with regard to conspiracy was transplanted to American soil. It was not until 1842 that the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts upheld the worker's right to organize for the purpose of raising wages. False ideas, like weeds, die slowly. Resistance against associations of every kind continued. For this reason Leo XIII undertook to defend the right of working men to organize. In addition to labor unions, however, he advocated also "societies for mutual help," which would give assistance to workers and their families in days of sickness or some other misfortune.

Societies for mutual help

There need be no hesitation to think of cooperatives, and specifically of credit unions, when he speaks of "societies for mutual help." Credit unions are societies for mutual help. They are among the most important of social agencies to achieve financial freedom and independence for the worker, to promote thrift, responsibility and self-help, and to place a buffer between man as an individual on the one hand and usurious financial capitalism, or even an over-reaching state, on the other.

Credit unions were formed as a reaction against the greed of the rising finance capitalism of the last century. Under the spell of the materialistic liberalism of that day, which had cast off all considerations of ethics as a governing factor in political, economic and social relations, this finance capitalism looked upon man as so much muscle or physical power and treated "men like chattels to make money by," as Leo XIII put it in a stinging phrase. Man's worth as man counted for nothing in the banks and financial institutions of a money-mad world. Whether man was a rascal or not made little difference so long as he could present collateral when he made a loan—collateral in the form of land, real estate, bonds, stocks or some other material thing. If a worker had none of these material goods, though he was a man of good character, thrifty and industrious, all credit was denied him. Credit unions, on the contrary, took his worth as a man as collateral; they still do, and their success is outstanding.

Finance capitalism gives other evidence that not man but matter counts in business affairs. The number of shares a stockholder owns determines the number of votes he has in a business enterprise; not so in a credit union. The members of a credit union are peers among themselves. No matter how many or how few shares a member holds, each has but one vote; all have equal standing among themselves. Credit unions are making a reality of democracy.

Furthermore, credit unions put restrictions on the profit-motive. Credit unionists, however, are not utopian collectivists. They realize that the profit-motive is necessary for the proper functioning of the natural law of self-preservation, culture and progress. Therefore they provide for dividends accumulated through savings; but dividends do not take precedence over other considerations. Most credit unions put a limit on the amount or the rate of dividends to be distributed at the end

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of the year. Surplus funds are used for educational, cultural or charitable purposes; or interest rates on loans to members are lowered as soon as it becomes evident that the prevailing rate leads to the accumulation of too much surplus, contrary to the fundamental spirit of credit unions.

Good credit unions keep before their members the ideal of mutual help and mutual service. In this they become a concrete manifestation of social charity, a term which Pius XI used for the first time and which, unfortunately, has not received the attention it should in discussions of social problems.

Social charity

Social charity is a species of Christian charity. It is Christian charity exercising its rôle wherever relationships in the social order are concerned, whether these are relationships of the primal social unit, the family, whether they are relationships in the multiple and varied social groups of a national, international, political, civic, social, or economic character, or whether they are social relationships embraced by the various activities of the state. So important is social charity that Pius XI did not hesitate to call it "the soul of the social order." Social justice is important; much has been written and spoken about it; men intent upon sound social reform, as well as demagogues and radicals, have used it to further their social programs. Indeed it has been used and abused. Of its eminent importance for the social order there can be no question. Social justice, however, makes only certain minimal demands. Beyond an essential minimum of what is necessary for the common good social justice does not go. It is otherwise with social charity. Broad in its scope, it embraces every social activity and every social relationship. Social charity is a carrier of good will into all societary relations; it gives motive power to mutual cooperation; in common social enterprises it inspires men to devote themselves to the help of others with whom they are associated; it puts self-interest into its proper place and stresses social service to others; it furnishes ideals to works of benevolence and beneficence; it gives character to all social works and life to the whole social order. Indeed, it is the soul of the social order. Because social charity goes far beyond the exactions of social justice, he who is actuated by its spirit with its suave and irresistible pleading to be kind and forbearing, helpful and cooperative, benevolent and beneficent in all his relations with his fellows in society, will also be ready to discharge more willingly the minimal duties of social justice. The two, social justice and social charity, must function together in a right social order. Pius XI said of the two that they must become the firm basis for the reform of society.

Credit unions afford special opportunities to all members for the exercise of these two important virtues of social justice and social charity, especially the latter. If credit unions have attained such great success, this must be attributed largely to the spirit of social charity that has actuated them. If the members of credit unions allow themselves to be lured away by the siren calls of a secularistic and naturalistic materialism, credit unions will go the way of all human undertakings that forsake fundamental principles of morality and religion. One cannot take the soul out of social institutions and have them live; they must die and decay. Such is the law of all social life.

Our Duty to Great Britain

What all-out help would really mean for America.

By **T. Swann Harding**

FREEDOM OF SPEECH is still far from extinct in Great Britain. *The New Statesman and Nation* for February 15, 1941, carried an editorial, "The Tools and the Job," in which words were not minced. Mr. Churchill had just made a radio address in which "he informed our American allies that Britain was confident of being able to win this war without the aid, now or at any foreseeable time, of their man-power." But the writer of the editorial from which these words are quoted knew that such a statement amounted to political fluff. He proceeded to say so.

The statement was pointed out as inconsistent with former pronouncements of the Prime Minister. The American press seemed jubilant that Great Britain would do the job if the United States only furnished the tools. But if Great Britain was not relying on American man-power to lick Hitler, on what did she rely? Hitler could place in the field 10 million men and Great Britain could not possibly produce more than 5. Hence a Continental offensive by Britain alone was impossible.

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The blockade, air bombing and so-called "amphibious" warfare were mere auxiliaries. Hitler could not be annihilated by them alone. Then, asks the editorial writer, on what does Mr. Churchill rely for victory if not upon American man-power? He concludes thus: "It was a bold and confident gesture to renounce the aid of an American army. History will applaud us, only if at the same moment we begin with method and imagination to recruit instead of it our European legions"—that is in countries conquered by the nazis.

Actually, of course, the British have not renounced our man-power. They know very well what they are doing. They plan well and their world-power policies have a long-time continuity that ours lack. In this connection a lead editorial in the *Economist* (London) for December 21, 1940, is not without interest. It was entitled "Embassy to America." Lord Lothian was dead and his successor was being considered. The importance of this ambassadorship was stressed, it being held that the perfect candidate must like Americans and be liked by them.

Then came this significant paragraph:

> On the other hand, it will not do to appoint a mere popular figure-head, whether royal, noble, or only literary. There is hard work to be done and a lot of arduous argument. The sympathy and goodwill of the American Administration under Mr. Roosevelt can be taken for granted; but the President and his assistants naturally rank American interests above British, and our Ambassador will be failing of his duty if he does not provide a counterweight to this.

That is extremely significant. Oddly enough we do tend to hold our own interests first and those of Great Britain somewhat secondary. But the proper sort of British ambassador would cure us of this unfortunate idiosyncrasy. Great Britain needs us—not only our material aid but our man-power. Quite naturally she feels that since she entered the war without consulting us, she alone knows her policies and ambitions, and that since we ourselves told her she was fighting our war, she is under no obligation to disclose her objectives.

In the circumstances, therefore, Great Britain feels she should give us orders and that we should carry them out blindly, like a good colony. She may be mistaken. It is more than probable that we have rather extraordinary ambitions ourselves in the field of world power politics in which we are now busily engaged. Meanwhile we have an alliance with Great Britain in all essentials. We are in the war against a ruthless and a resourceful foe with her as our ally. This situation existed long before the farcical lend-lease debate, and the passage of the lend-lease bill did nothing materially to alter it.

Moreover the British have long been adept at world power politics while we are new at the game. Our adventures in "manifest destiny" were small-time stuff as compared with the tremendous imperialistic venture which now engages us. The British have the advantage of long experience and long-time continuity in a well-thought-out policy. We may assume world leadership, as more optimistic Americans believe we shall, but then again we may not. At present Great Britain knows exactly how she wishes us to serve, whether we do so or not.

In this connection *The Economist* of November 16, 1940, the first post-election number, is suggestive. It opened with a leader entitled "The Industrial Army" which indicated that the British are under no illusions even about their own industrial conditions. Some 800,000 were still unemployed in Britain. Praise was lavished upon the high efficiency of the 16,000 instructors and the 200 training establishments maintained in Germany by the nazi Labor Front.

Nazi commissioners were still visiting factories, enforcing training, effecting technical reorganizing, economizing skill. The British still lagged. True it was a delicate task in balance and adjustment to put the nation's entire manpower to the best use. But this must be done in Great Britain, just as it must be done in the United States. The following quoted material from the *Economist* will serve to indicate the magnitude of the task before us, since we lag worse than Britain.

> It is for the Government to lay upon every firm doing war work the specific obligation of training a quota of war workers; to send out expert commissions of technicians, with at least as much authority in industry as the war agricultural committees have in farming, to advise employers on the expansion of training and the economy of skill in their factories; by appropriate sanctions to ensure that the quotas laid down are filled; and by large-scale and long-term program-making, to have work for the trainees as they pass out. The Government's job is to provide the much larger number of unskilled and semi-skilled workers to support them. It is the responsibility of the Government, moreover, and not of any individual or set of individuals, whether they be producers, workers or consumers, to see that sufficient men are always available, from other work, to be trained. Industries that are not needed must be cut down, not just to save materials or plant, but to save men, in millions, as well.

This material is of interest because it indicates what we also must do to win the war. If necessary harsh means must be utilized to end management-labor troubles, even if that ultimately means the taking over of plants and obligation on the part of workers to undertake such tasks as require their skill for the duration. We are in a very serious war against an extremely powerful foe, and half measures will not do.

Changes

Since this editorial appeared in the *Economist* many changes have been made in Great Britain. Non-essential industries in particular have been greatly consolidated, regardless of inconvenience

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to business as usual. If it proved efficient to produce a dozen brands of cold cream under their different labels in a single factory, just that was done. The whole field of retail trade, commerce, and the service occupations was combed for workers who might better be employed at more essential tasks.

The British are well aware that we have undergone no such industrial rationalization. As the *Economist* says: "The American businessman, like the French general, expected this war to be the last war streamlined. In other words, he looked forward to an era of unlimited orders and almost unlimited profits." The fact is we cannot afford the luxury of profits in this stern emergency.

As the second world war began there was a brisk business boomlet in the United States with rising prices in Wall Street. The Federal Reserve Board's index of industrial production in December, 1939, attained a point 10 percent above the 1929 peak. But it then became apparent that France and Great Britain were purchasing only aircraft and a few specialties, such as machine tools, in the American market. Our agricultural export market indeed disappeared almost totally.

As late as January, 1940, American defense spending was estimated to amount to only 3 percent of our national income as compared with from 50 percent at peace to 72 percent at war for Germany—where, of course, peace and war were all but one. Therefore American prices and production drifted downward until late in 1940 when there was a returning activity. But we still had a large margin of some 9 million unemployed and perhaps 15 billion unemployed dollars as well.

Our war effort will require much more, though, than the mere taking up of that slack. It will require expenditures in the neighborhood of 40 to 50 billion dollars a year. We cannot successfully superimpose our military economy upon our peace economy, and expect to have our usual consuming habits undisturbed. There is no use trying that. Such a policy is foredoomed to disastrous failure.

Furthermore Great Britain not only expects us to supply her with tools. She will need and she expects an American expeditionary force later in the conflict. We must plan with that in mind as the Army undoubtedly does. A long editorial in the *Economist* entitled "America After the Election" indicates what leading British authorities think. The question discussed is whether the United States should be expected to fight, and if so, when.

The editorial says that any immediate declaration of war by us would be "a very mixed blessing for Great Britain." For, so long as the British do the fighting, they may reasonably expect to get a higher proportion of American munitions than if the two countries were both belligerent. Since the United States Government has promised an equal sharing of articles produced here, and a certain measure of priority for our British ally in addition, the British would, as the writer in the *Economist* expressed it, not merely "get half the cake, but the earlier slices."

Naturally Americans would be reluctant to give the British priorities if the United States also was at war. In the meantime allowance must still be made for the almost incredible fact that the citizens of the United States apparently do not know they are at war nor realize what this implies. For we read:

> In general, it is the American belief that a very large production of munitions can be secured without trenching upon the standard of living of the American people, but by drawing upon the margin of resources of labor and capital not at present fully employed. British experience shows that this can be done up to a point; but it also shows that it cannot be done beyond that point, and that point is soon reached.

We have already reached that point, though our businessmen and industrialists either do not realize the fact or else are reluctant to admit it. Americans who imagine that we can fight this war with one hand tied behind our backs and while enjoying all our accustomed luxuries, and those things we regard as necessities, should read and ponder what Great Britain has found out by experience.

As the British writer continues, it is very difficult "in a democratic and egalitarian community, to impose pains and penalties on isolated sectors of the community when the community as a whole is not mobilized for war. Is it possible, in peacetime, to ration the output of machine tools, to limit the sales of motor cars to the public, to impose restrictions of movement and obligations of training on certain strategically located varieties of labor?" Such difficulties "can only be removed by the compulsive intervention of the State, imposing the conditions of a war economy on small sections of the national industry."

That means that as we become more seriously engaged in the war our industrialists must look forward to increased orderly exercise of democratic authority in spheres in which they have hitherto regarded themselves as independent enterprisers. It also means that in due time we must be an actual belligerent in order to exercise our power fully. The *Economist* rightly asks whether the United States, with a "much looser" political organization than Great Britain, can do what it should for its ally if it continues to remain at peace.

It cannot. For "it is the penalty of being a democracy that the production of armaments can begin in earnest only after the declaration of war." For that reason we should at least begin now to realize that we are at war. The writer in the *Economist* observes:

> What, then, should we in England hope for—a larger and earlier slice of a smaller cake, or a smaller slice of a much larger cake? If the answer is to be given from the some-

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> what narrow viewpoint of our own material needs, it must be that we should prefer America to be nonbelligerent in 1941, belligerent in 1942. We must hope for her eventual participation in the struggle with all the strength of an armed continent.

Naturally Mr. Churchill is fully aware of both this necessity and the plan to be carried out. It merely would have been impolitic for him to have admitted this when he made his radio broadcast. We are the junior partner in this struggle, but we are in it as deeply as we could be from the standpoint of commitment. It is time we acted the part. In fact, as the *Economist* has also argued cogently, it is not politic for Britain to permit us to go too long without making formal declaration of war. For if Britain happened to hold out well our interest in the war would flag.

The reality

That is because, as the British are fully aware, we are much more interested in having Hitler licked than in seeing Britain triumphant. For we have our own world power plans. However, the British do not intend that their whole program shall be stultified either by financial difficulties in purchasing from us or by our failure to come in and fight when we are needed. That is what "defending America by helping Britain" really means. Why not face the reality?

As the British writer observes: "The whole problem would be immeasurably simpler if American opinion were rescued, by a declaration of war, from the present dualism of outlook, in which America's safety is seen to be involved, but her wealth is not committed," much less her soldiers. A neutral America might be reluctant to provide an armed escort for ships. Hence the "last measure of full collaboration" must be had, though that depends in part upon what Hitler is able to do.

Regarding that also the British do not fool themselves. They are most realistic, as an article on Molotov in Berlin in the *Economist* indicates. At the time they felt that Molotov went to Berlin not to tell but to be told. They were under no illusions regarding Russia. They did not count on her aid. In fact they felt that Russia was much too weak to challenge the nazis in any way that might eventuate in armed conflict. Quick reprisals from Berlin would follow any attempt Russia made to court Great Britain or her ally, the United States. Ultimately, of course, Stalin thought of a temporary way out for Russia by signing a pact which left Japan and the United States free to exhaust themselves in war if they wished to be that foolish.

Meanwhile the March 22 issue of the London *New Statesman and Nation* begins with these words: "Morally, Mr. Roosevelt's speech on Saturday (March 15) was a declaration of war upon the Axis: America, as he put it, has 'gone into action.'" A lead article in the same issue entitled "Gone into Action" also says:

> The speech means that America is now committed without reserves to Britain's side in the war. In truth Britain no longer fights alone . . . Americans have decided that Britain's war must be won; they see a war between themselves alone and Hitler as the alternative. . . . If American destroyers flying the Stars and Stripes are needed to ensure the safety of that bridge [of boats], we cannot suppose that a nation which has taken its decision will hesitate.

It may be answered that the Gallup polls uniformly show from 70 to 80 percent of Americans unalterably opposed to sending men, planes, or ships directly to Britain's aid. But it may be replied that presidential popularity is right now higher than ever and that 70 to 80 percent of Americans support their President. It may be argued that Americans suffer from schizophrenia. That is beside the point. Whatever we may think our words and actions mean, it is plain what Britain thinks they mean, nor can we repudiate our stand and retain great-power status.

Great Britain and the United States alone face the world, for the other semi-democracies and outright dictatorships allied with them have been conquered or cowed. We may have certain imperialistic plans of our own which might eventually conflict with British plans. It may be that in 1965 we shall think we were as foolish in 1941 as in the thirties we thought we had been in 1917. That too does not matter.

We cannot now turn back. That would be interpreted as indecision and weakness. We must realize that we are at war now and we must organize to win that war. Should Great Britain falter, should she in last desperation negotiate with Hitler as she has every right to do if she wishes, we must keep on. Should she even be compelled to join forces hostile to us as France may soon have to do, we must win this war alone or perish.

Some ask what Britain's war objectives are; none ask this more urgently than certain enlightened Englishmen. We do not know. We do not know Britain's commitments. But it is we who told Great Britain she was fighting our war, and it is much too late to quibble over details now. We must radically reorganize our economic and industrial systems to win this war too, and we cannot undertake this quickly enough. At the moment that means specifically the introduction of planned production and consumption and the exaction of very much heavier taxes indeed.

For many years stockholders have become divorced from business and industrial control and management has become independent of ownership. But the private-profit system has failed miserably to regulate production and consumption in any rational way operating as it has through financial leverage. Today both Great Britain and Germany maintain private property and private

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profits, but have disrupted the profit system by placing the decisive political, social and economic power in the hands of government.

In a war economy government as a monopoly customer can determine what shall be produced, where it shall be produced, who shall produce it and in what quantity. The free-market economy is abolished but the costing devices of private enterprise are retained as rigid guides. The government must control wages, hours, prices, the direction of output, the utilization of skilled and nonskilled manpower, the place of manufacture, the quality and quantity of output, employment and credit. Managers, meanwhile, retain their proper functions in the fields of research, technology, engineering, production, buying and selling.

Some such system we face. It should be set up promptly. Profits must be regulated to a low level; the production of consumption goods must be curtailed while salaries are artificially decreased by greatly increased taxation coupled with enforced savings-loans to government. However the nazi way of life need not be adopted. Freedom of discussion, the right to make candid criticism, the greatest respect for personal liberty, punctilious regard for the rights of man and other democratic safeguards need not be sacrificed.

But we must adopt direct economic management by government with scientifically planned production, distribution and consumption at once. We must use our manpower most intelligently as needed and regardless of dislocations in their normal manner of living or of their financial loss. We must conscript workers and plant facilities just as we have soldiers and sailors.

We must quit dreaming, since we have made this our war, and act as though we meant business. No other policy will enable us to lick the nazis, for they made it their war long ago and they do mean business.

"Catholic, 1"

By BENSON Y. LANDIS

A RE-READING of the historic encyclical letter *Rerum Novarum* by Pope Leo XIII brought to me two impressions: First, that many parts still have great current value. Second, that the document was truly a pioneering one.

On this high occasion, religious men and women everywhere, especially those concerned with the relation of the church to social conditions, will gladly recognize the great wisdom given to the world about the "new things" fifty years ago. At that time Pope Leo XIII said well what numerous others have often tried to say ever since. He first declared much of the teaching on labor and social and economic problems now embraced by many churches.

Indeed, my title, "Catholic, 1," came as a result of a perusal of a summary of social pronouncements of religious bodies published by the Federal Council of Churches in 1930, entitled "The Social Work of the Churches," edited by F. Ernest Johnson. On many of of the subjects considered, there was a reference labeled in prosaic fashion "Catholic, 1." When one turns to the bibliography one finds that "Catholic, 1" refers to "the Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII on the Condition of Labor, 1891." The Encyclical was the earliest source then quoted in the summary of documents on the social responsibilities of religion. The comprehensive text of 1891 had referred to many of the great social issues that most churches and synagogues were aware of in 1930.

In 1941 we may happily say the same, and more. The current *Christendom,* journal of the ecumenical movement in which representatives of Eastern, Anglican and Evangelical Churches are participating, carries an article by Dr. Adolf Keller, European scholar, also well known in America. Dr. Keller considers, among others, the noted papal encyclicals, *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno,* and compares them with pronouncements of the representatives of the non-Roman Christian churches that gathered to consider "the life and work" of the churches at Stockholm in 1925 and at Oxford in 1937. Among his conclusions are: "A parallelism has become manifest between the position of the Roman Catholic Church and of the Evangelical Churches, as perhaps never before." The encyclicals and the messages studied reveal, says Dr. Keller, "an invisible common Christian front in the fight of faith against secularism," when they consider the attitude of the church toward the world, and the tasks the church has to fulfill in the world.

Dr. Keller further says that his comparative study of *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno,* with the reports of Oxford and Stockholm on economic and social problems, shows "a striking similarity, not simply in the practical advice which the church gives for dealing with these problems, but in the establishment of the leading principles from which the practical application is deduced." Certain portions of these documents, he contends, "could be interchangeable," and this "in spite of differences in style and presentation."

It is still too little known that on confronting specific conditions, such as those of labor, not only Catholics and Protestants, but Jews as well, very frequently come to the same conclusions as to the moral rights of individuals and the imperatives of religious institutions. Although we do not worship together, we often "workship" together, to quote a rabbi on this matter.

It has even been possible for religious men and women not only to come to exactly the same conclusions together on a labor question, but

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also to publish their findings and conclusions under a joint imprint. Before me lies a pamphlet containing the summary and findings of the interfaith conference on unemployment, held in Washington, D. C., in 1940. The conference was jointly called by, and the report was jointly published by, the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference; the Industrial Division of the Federal Council of Churches; the Social Justice Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis; the Social Justice Committee, Rabbinical Assembly of America. Several hundred men and women of many faiths participated in this Conference, and many who were not Catholics could agree with the exposition of the ideas of *Quadragesimo Anno,* there expounded.

This procedure is not new. Let us also recall the joint imprints on reports following investigations of labor controversies, all of which were brought out by the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference; the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council; the Social Justice Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. These titles were:

The Denver Tramway Strike of 1920. 1921. *The Enginemen's Strike on the Western Maryland Railroad.* 1927. *The Centralia Case.* 1930.

All of which, I submit, argues well for the future, as we contemplate the tremendous tasks before the churches and synagogues in the community. We have great common interests. We have the opportunity to meet many needs by cooperation. With God's help we may do more to help our communities, and one another.

Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

THERE were many notable points of high public importance in a recent address made by the Most Reverend Joseph P. Hurley, Bishop of St. Augustine, Florida (as reported by the news service of the NCWC), to the annual convention of the Diocesan Council of Catholic Women, at Gainsville. As summarized by the correspondent for the Catholic press, Bishop Hurley warned "that those who drum on the theme of America's badness—its decadence, its paganism, its depravity—may be serving the aims of a few men who have no interest whatever in morals, but who are seeking to discourage and divide us here in America." He gave a particular emphasis to this general statement by asserting that the group of deliberate saboteurs of American unity in this time of crisis are assisted by "those who clamor that communism is America's enemy No. 1," although, according to Bishop Hurley, "today the first enemy of our humanity—the killers of our priests, the despoilers of our temples, the foe of all we love both as Americans and Catholics—is the nazi."

What gives Bishop Hurley's warning more than usual force is the fact that until quite recently he was attached to the Department of State of the Vatican, which for many years he had served continuously, a service which of course put him into intimate relations with the guiding spirits of the universal Church, and enabled him to know with certainty the situations affecting the Church throughout the world. That Bishop Hurley was and is an opponent of communism should go without saying. The great trouble interfering with a just appreciation of the gravity of his warning is that American Catholics, like the Catholics of many other lands, have been most deeply indoctrinated as to the evil of the anti-religious nature of communism, but as yet have been most imperfectly instructed as to the similar, and more effective, perils of the fundamental anti-Christianity of the nazi doctrine and practice.

It may be said also that the anti-communism so strongly and insistently taught by the Church was very effectively aided by the anti-communism of institutions and groups to whom the peril to religion in communism was of little or no importance, but who opposed communism on economic and political and cultural, and sometimes purely selfish and material, grounds. But many of these influences, in the worlds of finance and business and politics, which stood more or less with the Church against communism, have never resisted the nazi peril; have in many cases tolerated it, and sometimes actively aided it. Yet it is clear now, for those who know the facts, that in Europe and the western world in general what Bishop Hurley says is quite true—it is the nazi attack on Christian civilization that is deadlier, and more successful, than the communist attack. As a Polish priest remarked to Mr. and Mrs. Frank Sheed, the experiences of the Catholics in Poland since the conquest by Germany and Russia of that martyred country prove that the difference between the attack on the Church in German-controlled Poland and Russian-controlled Poland was this: "In the former there was persecution with intelligence, in the latter, persecution without intelligence." A most efficient intelligence indeed presides over the persistent elimination of the Church in Germany.

Yet even in so Catholic a country as the Irish Free State, the dread of offending the nazi conquerors of Europe, now battering at the north of Ireland, and menacing the whole country should England fall, seems to be so potent as to compel the government to exercise censorship over the press to conceal from the Irish people the full revelation of the persecution of the Church in Germany by the nazis. Many instances of this censorship were recently revealed by Mr. James Dillon, deputy leader of the Cosgrave party. Thus the facts revealed so irrefutably and in such mass in "The Persecution of the Church in the Third Reich" have been suppressed, the book being banned in Eire.

There is no such official censorship in the United States, nor is there likely to be at present; but there already seems to be a very powerful force at work to minimize and gloss over the true facts concerning the nazi evil, even in many Catholic circles, in which circles, however, as Bishop Hurley's remonstrance shows, the outcry against communism goes on full force. That such a one-sided performance is exceedingly welcome to those who direct the nazi policies in our midst is very certain.

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Communications

"DEMOCRACY'S SECOND CHANCE"

Reserve Mines, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia.

TO the Editors: Lest the review of George Boyle's book "Democracy's Second Chance" in THE COMMONWEAL of April 18 may have unwittingly done a serious disservice to a book of more than passing significance to Christian social reform, I beg leave to say that Mr. Boyle had no intention of writing for the "untutored" reader nor for people who do "not know much about cooperatives."

The so-called cooperative movement has been "blessed" with all too many "untutored" among the ranks of its camp followers. Literature must, of course, be provided for them also, but they are not the persons who usually teach others.

Your reviewer does not seem to have grasped the scope of the book. The closing criticism, i.e., "I think it is possible for someone who did not know much about cooperatives to read 'Democracy's Second Chance' without being much the wiser," will be regarded by Mr. Boyle as a compliment and a proof that he has achieved the purpose he had in view in writing the book.

J. J. TOMPKINS.

Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

TO the Editors: May I ask for brief space in your letter columns to state my strong disapproval of Edward Skillin's review of the book "Democracy's Second Chance" by George Boyle? Mr. Skillin complains of too much philosophy in the book and not enough fact. He appears to want society reformed, then he will presumably put his okay upon it as a *fait accompli*. Mr. Skillin appears to be a fact-man, and with the thoughtless emphasis of the fact-man on some facts he seems blind to the main facts, to wit: That when people really get down to building cooperatives, they find a philosophy is the thing most needed; that many books have given the charts and the statistics and the dimensions of the cooperative movement in North America, but very few have given a philosophy; that very little had been written to attempt an integration of the ideals of distributism (or decentralism) with the growing economic structure of the cooperatives on this continent; that a book which helps bring together these two vital schools of thought does a worthwhile service; that cooperatives, as thought of in Nova Scotia, or associations of any kind as expounded in the *Rerum Novarum* and the *Quadragesimo Anno,* are not ends in themselves but are means of sustaining and promoting the wider rights of man.

While these facts may be not of the hard kind which Mr. Skillin prefers, they are nevertheless tough enough to cause experienced men some thought. Mr. Skillin says he dislikes "theory when not diluted with chunks of hard fact." How Mr. Skillin dilutes theory or anything else with "hard chunks" is as surprising a phenomenon as his imperception of the value of a stated rural philosophy—even if it is not all in the language of the average man. After all it is not the average man who is most likely to be the teacher of others. Mr. Skillin, it has to be remembered, is one of the editors of a periodical of considerable influence among clergy, educators and the more literate laity of the United States and Canada. It is because such readers, in the opinion of this writer, should be reached by the book in question, that issue must be taken with his flippant treatment of it.

It is interesting to note that the reviewer for the *Catholic Worker* (April) says of "Democracy's Second Chance": "The author turns the light of this thought on the need for a land movement, for a decentralist movement and for a cooperative form of living as opposed to a mass-production, mechanistic, inhuman and brutal philosophy that thinks and moves and has its lack of being in mere material progress. . . . In this book new depths of thought are stirred. We put ourselves out on a prophetic limb when we declare that this book will be a manifesto of liberty to those who will take up and read."

MICHAEL J. MACDONALD.

The Stage & Screen

What Might Have Been

HALLIE FLANAGAN, the director of the Federal Theatre, has in her book "Arena" published the history of that tragic enterprise. I say tragic because according to Miss Flanagan's own figures it cost forty-six million dollars, with an intake of not quite two millions, and it set back for a generation at least any possibility of a national theatre. I do not know what the Federal Theatre did outside New York, at least in the quality of its productions, but it is doubtful whether they equalled the offerings in the metropolis, which had far greater resources both in actors and directors than all the rest of the country put together. The New York project did a few good things. There was the Negro "Macbeth" and "Horse Eats Hat," both very imaginatively produced by Orson Welles. The Federal Theatre did give Orson Welles a chance to spread his wings, and for that we must be grateful. Then there was the series of Living Newspapers, which were effective pieces of propaganda for the Left. And there was the performance of "Murder in the Cathedral," and two excellent productions by the Roslyn group under Charles Hopkins's direction of "Pygmalion" and "The Playboy of the Western World," in which Miss Norma Downey gave superb performances of the two leading women parts. And there was also "Pinocchio." But the great majority of plays given in New York were inadequately acted, only the stage settings being up to professional standard.

All this was not Miss Flanagan's fault, and in her book she has quite candidly and with humor put forth the facts. The basic trouble was that a relief project was put into the service of art, and that in New York it was until the last season taken possession of by communists and fellow-travelers. This condition was finally remedied by Miss Flanagan and Emmet Lavery, but it was too late. Con-

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gress saw a chance to get its hooks into it, and ended the whole project. Never in the history of political absurdity was there such an ineffable exhibition of Congressional ignorance as in the hearings which ended in the closing of the Federal Theatre. Senators Reynolds and Holt were particularly egregious in their charges of communism and immorality. Thank Heavens the preposterous Holt at least is no longer a member of the Senate! So it was that the communists and their fellow-travelers handed the knife to the politicians.

It is, however, very doubtful if it would have succeeded, even had the communists and the politicians kept their fingers out of it. The theatre is an art. If it is to mean anything, merit and merit alone must be consulted. There were good actors in the Federal Theatre, but they were in the minority. The majority were the failures, or people who wanted to learn to act. The result was inevitable, even though forty-six million dollars were expended in the process. What that sum could have done in the founding of a national theatre which would have meant something to our cultural life! But it went down the drain of propaganda and artistic ineptitude. It will be long before the American taxpayer can again be persuaded to do anything for the theatre. This is the tragedy which Miss Flanagan's book sets forth, a book which must be praised for its frankness and its humor, even though it does not draw the final conclusions warranted by its facts. GRENVILLE VERNON.

The Villain Still Pursues

CINEMA-GOERS, who enjoy an adult melodrama, who thought "Rebecca" just about filled the bill, will find *"A Woman's Face"* very much to their liking. Its script, by Donald Ogden Stewart and Elliot Paul, has been carefully planned to give a maximum of thrills with a minimum of incredible hokum. George Cukor's tight direction slowly and deliberately unfolds the story to intensify the shock that each episode has in store; and the whole has a force that will leave you breathless. It is well that you shouldn't know too much of the plot. The main action takes place in a courtroom and the surprises are revealed in the testimony of each witness: Donald Meek, Reginald Owen, Osa Massen, Albert Basserman, Marjorie Main, Melvyn Douglas—and Joan Crawford who is on trial for murder. Miss Crawford gives what is probably her finest cinema performance as she portrays the hardened, embittered woman whose horribly scarred face has driven her from intercourse with a normal society. She fulfills all the requirements of this difficult rôle particularly in the later scenes when her face is restored to beauty but her character continues to express its years of training in evil. In contrast to Melvyn Douglas's simplicity, as the plastic surgeon who remakes the woman's face and then worries that his Galatea will become a Frankenstein creature, is Conrad Veidt's complicated villainy. As the manifestation of a wicked influence that will not allow the woman to escape from her past, Mr. Veidt again excels in another of his studies in sinister evil. Victor Saville has given "A Woman's Face" a good production; unusually effective for this type of melodrama are the make-ups, the Norwegian settings and costumes. It is unfortunate, however, that the film had to go soft at the ending; but before the too-convenient divorce and the sentimental finale, you get your fill of tense moments and nervous excitement.

If *"Reaching for the Sun"* had been done with half the punch of "A Woman's Face," it could have been an outstanding picture. With its swell shots of an automobile plant's production line and its interesting theme about a country lad who came to the city to earn $200 and then found himself trapped by city mores, noises, jargon, labor problems and even marriage and a family, the picture had a good idea but lacked the fortitude to carry it through. Wessel Smitter's strong labor novel "F.O.B. Detroit" was treated so superficially and riddled with so many bids for popular appeal that the result is a hodge-podge of realism and sentimental melodrama. Producer-director William A. Wellman managed to squeeze in a few moving scenes through the use of symbolism: the diminishing syrup to indicate growing hunger during unemployment, the outboard motor representing freedom and the call of the wild, the hero's sincerity in the class for expectant fathers, the irony of the "best father" diploma arriving after the wife has returned to mother. Eddie Bracken gives an interesting and humorous performance as the wise city kid, but Joel McCrea only looks the part as the country boy who is caught by the wheels of industry. Albert Dekker has little opportunity to do anything with the unmotivated villain rôle. Ellen Drew is lost as the young wife.

Don't be misled by your natural interest in carnivals into seeing *"The Wagons Roll at Night."* Warner Brothers have just tacked a circus background onto one of their old routine gangster-prizefighter stories about the tough boss who gets tougher when his moll, or even the nice country boy who works for him, approach his convent-raised sister. Director Ray Enright does little to see this cliché-ridden formula with a new slant, and the cast doesn't care either. Humphrey Bogart gets harder and madder when Moll Sylvia Sydney walks out on him; but he goes into a villainous rage before he throws likeable, boyish Eddie Albert to the lions. Audiences will snicker more than be thrilled as the man-eating Caesar attacks Eddie while Humphrey sneers and leers outside the tent.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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Books of the Week

Monsignor Ryan

Social Doctrine in Action: A Personal History. John A. Ryan. Harper. $3.00.

NO ONE can deny it: Monsignor Ryan was the captain of that small band of pioneers who blazed the trail for Catholic social doctrine in America. Now at the age of 71, still a leader in the movement, he gives us the story of his life, which means the story of social thought and action in this country over the last 50 years. It is a great story. It is an even greater life.

Born of Tipperary immigrants on a farm near St. Paul, Minnesota, John Augustine Ryan was one of eleven children. He attended seminary in St. Paul and was ordained in 1898; studied at Catholic University and taught at St. Paul Seminary until 1915, when he returned to Catholic University and remained there until 1939 as professor of political science, moral theology and sociology. In 1906 he published "A Living Wage" and in 1915 his major work, "Distributive Justice." Since 1920 he has been director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, since 1937 a monsignor.

Those are the bare bones of Monsignor Ryan's career. But on the bones there has been plenty of meat, the meat of dynamic ideas and great personalities. Among those who add color and weight to the story are the heroic Cardinal Gibbons, Bishop Spalding, Archbishop Ireland, Governor Altgeld of Illinois, Morris Hillquit the Socialist, Michael Collins the Irish hero, Justice Louis Brandeis and President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Monsignor Ryan welcomed Roosevelt's New Deal and defended it publicly, mostly because he recognized in it an end to the *laissez-faire* heresy of Republican administrations and some beginning of a public policy based on the principles of reform he himself had expressed so well years before in the famous "Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction" (1919). (That Monsignor Ryan actually wrote this great document was to this reviewer one of the major revelations of his book.)

Before and since the New Deal, Monsignor Ryan has underlined the importance of political action in achieving social justice. This is an emphasis that can find excellent backing in the papal encyclicals. In *Quadragesimo Anno* Pius XI makes it clear that the state must take the initiative not only in promoting and protecting the public welfare, but also in setting up the corporate system of vocational groups which he envisions for the practical working out of a Christian program.

But nevertheless, some of us continue to wonder whether or not the monsignor and his social action department (owing perhaps to their location in Washington) haven't been beating the drum so loudly for political action that they thereby tended to neglect just a little the whole difficult but essential business of building up and educating our present organizations for economic self-government: our farmers' and employers' associations and, above all, our trade unions. Certainly these must form the nucleus of any vocational-group system that may—and must—be projected in America. And it is equally certain that at the present time most of them have neither the strength, the good sense nor the good will required for the effective functioning of such a system.

But it is difficult to be critical of anything about Monsignor Ryan or his book. After all, even as it is, American labor owes him more than either he or it will ever realize. His scholarship, his courage and his sympathy have been the strong support and the continuing inspiration of all those who have labored with him in the vineyard of Christ the Worker. For the gift of himself we are all eternally grateful. And of course, no one who appreciates the measure of our debt to him will want to miss his book.

JOHN C. CORT.

BIOGRAPHY

Saint Patrick. Hugh De Blacam. Bruce. $2.25.

A LIFE of Saint Patrick is a difficult thing to do. The natural blurring effects of fifteen centuries and the fact that the saint wrote so little of his work constitute a main difficulty. The legend-loving Irish, with their lively imagination and their penchant for story-telling, make the task no easier. And if biography is difficult, a popular work is more so, especially if one is to avoid the awful mush and cuteness inflicted on us by many writers of popular lives. Hugh De Blacam rises to the occasion and the result is a masterful and searching story which rightfully deserves its place in the "Science and Culture Series."

Patrick, or Cothrige, as his Gaelic captors called him because they pronounced the British *p* as *k*, was the son of British-Roman, well-to-do farmers in either the Severn valley or Pembroke Peninsula in Wales. The yokel boy was captured by the adventurous warriors of Niall of the Nine Hostages, who came from Carlingford Lough. The story of his not unpleasant servitude as swineherd to Meliuc of Antrim is familiar to us all. So, too, the story of his escape at the instance of his Voices and his subsequent journey to the Continent, where he studied for the priesthood. Patrick became a bishop and realized his dearest ambition, to go to Ireland as a missionary. The Pelagian heresy, which denied the efficacy of grace, was making great inroads under the aegis of Pelagius and an Irishman, Caelistius. This fact was of great concern to Pope Celestine and it, coupled with the desire of the few Christians in Ireland for a Bishop, motivated the Pope to send the newly-made Bishop Patrick there.

There is hardly room to touch on his exploits here. There have been reams written about them, some true, some imaginative. Enough to say that the author scrupulously labels his facts and legends for what they are. The writer proves his worth in the vivid description of the saint's triumphal entry into Tara, the seat of the High King, Laoghaire. How Patrick defied the Druids is a masterpiece of applied psychology. On Holy Saturday, which, coincidentally, was the festival of spring to the pagans, every light in Tara was extinguished. Shutters were closed, and no light was permitted till the Druids had lit the ceremonial fire on Tara's hill. Patrick, and I think, not without humor, stole a march on the Druids by first lighting a huge paschal fire on neighboring Shane Hill. The pagan populace, thinking this to be the ceremonial fire lighted by the Druids, flocked to Shane Hill, where they witnessed the Christian rites and heard Patrick expound on the Trinity. Perhaps Laoghaire had a sense of humor too. In any case, he probably saw through the phoniness of some of the Druids. They warned him: "That fire must be quenched! He who lit it must be slain! If you let that fire burn this night, it will burn forever in Eire!" Laoghaire let it burn. We know how right the Druids were.

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The good bishop was no sissy, as so many of our saints would seem to be, as painted by popular writers and by moulders of pink-faced statues that strike poses like dummies in the windows of some Saks-Fifth-Avenue. He was a rugged countryman, given to hard work for himself and his heroic followers. He did not disdain the use of strong language when the occasion warranted. His favorite explosive was, "Mo De broth," "By the God of Judgment." He was a tyrant at times, stubborn and irascible. But he was humble, too, with a complete faith in his God and a respectful obedience to Rome.

De Blacam carefully separates fact from legend, but does not make the mistake of throwing out the legend as our "realistic" writers might do. He knows its beauty and knows its wellspring of sorrow and joy, of persecution and hope. There is no reservation in my recommendation of this book. For scholarship it is excellent, for sheer readability it is without peer.

WILLIAM M. CALLAHAN.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The Managerial Revolution. James Burnham. Day. $2.50.

JAMES BURNHAM believes that ours is a transition point in world history, a revolutionary era ushering in a kind of social order he calls "managerial." The capitalist system is finished, but it will not be replaced by a socialist society. His demonstration of the certain emergence of the managerial state is interesting and compelling, even to those who find it difficult to accept implications which he draws.

A ruling class is defined sharply as "a group of persons who by virtue of special social-economic relations exercise a special degree of control over access to the instruments of production and receive preferential treatment in the distribution of the product of these instruments." The author goes on to say that there is throughout the world a steady and progressive shifting of this control away from the grasp of the capitalist into the hands of those he terms "the managers."

". . . I mean by managers those who already for the most part in contemporary society are actually managing, on its technical side, the actual process of production, no matter what the legal and financial form—individual, corporate, governmental—of the process." It is their job to plan and design and organize the materials, tools, machines, plant facilities, equipment and labor. With the withdrawal of the big "owning" capitalists from production jobs to finance, and from finance to Nassau and other pleasure spots, effective power over the actual instruments of production came more and more into the hands of the managers. However much the managers are presently subject to and "servants" of the big capitalists, they will, the theory holds, eventually eliminate the present ruling class. For who controls the instruments of production, in fact not in name, controls society.

The sovereign power of the state is the instrument whereby the managerial class will unseat the bourgeoisie. "No matter who runs the government or for what, every new incursion of government into the economy means that one more section of the economy is wholly or partially removed from the reign of capitalist economic relations." The extension of the state into the economic order takes two forms: there are public services and corporations, and, of like tendency, regulatory commissions, bureaus and control agencies.

It is the contention of this book that Russia and Ger-

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many are managerial states. In Russia it is the managers who receive the lion's share of the wealth produced. . . . "Those who control the state, those whose interests are primarily served by the state, are the ruling class under the structure of state-owned economy. Through the state, they will control access to the instruments of production. Through the state, they will control the distribution of the products of those instruments so that they themselves receive the privileged share . . . The managerial economy will thus be an exploiting economy."

In replacing the capitalist ruling class, the managers will also take over the state's political power. The thesis of the whole book is that the political and economic power are integral, one to the other. It is forecast that the commission, the bureau, the agency will replace congresses and parliaments and become repositories and sources of new laws. The sovereignty of the state will be localized in the managerial boards.

Political and economic sovereignty will be localized, but it will be wielded dictatorially by the ruling organ of the managers. At least at first, totalitarian set-ups can be expected, their nature attuned to the countries dominated. War is and will be a stubborn affliction. War is said now to be acting as a catalyst in the revolutionary process, bringing forth developed managerial societies. The world is being shaken down into the three great managerial empires, built around the three principal centers of modern industry: northern Europe, the US, Japan.

Summarily stated, that is probably close enough to the theory of "the managerial revolution." Its high and uncomfortably provocative interest is derived from the fact that the individual parts of the theory are for the most part accepted common knowledge. The originality of the book comes from the performance of unifying the facts and trends and dread suspicions and displaying the whole as indeed a revolution, and a revolution with a name. The theory is supported and built up better in some directions than in others, naturally, but the whole thing is written in plain and understandable language and in a form which is a great relief in social and political literature.

But the pattern of managerial society pictured by the author as inevitable not only offends the reader because it does not portray the landscape of his hopes, but also arouses his suspicions in regard to the perfect appropriateness of the author's method. Political economy is presented as a sphere of science, much too like that of chemistry, physics, botany or biology. It is treated with an impossible objectivity so that it appears to be outside man's subjective, immediately perceptive life—more like a natural force such as the sun's heat or the ocean's tide, to which man must simply accommodate himself. But the reader will naturally worry about an author who salves his conscience by printing at the beginning of his work a letter by Niccolo Machiavelli to a friend. Social economy cannot be abstracted from morality. Men's choices are not determined by the empirical laws of material causality. Of course, to prophesy human action is not necessarily to rule out free will, but can be simply a prediction of what free choices will ensue. But that distinction, which Machiavelli might make, is very rigorous for an ordinary reading public.

The descriptions in "The Managerial Revolution"—of the present, past and future—are based upon all-in-all historical judgments. These rough estimates are combined and compounded in order to achieve the final picture. There is obviously not room in a short volume to argue numerous historical points which have to be used; nor is there opportunity to refine them and give them nuances and reservations. For instance, the feudal order is said to be based upon personal loyalty as contrasted to a succeeding régime of legalism. There is great truth in the normal interpretation of such a distinction, perhaps preponderant truth. But there was a definite conception of natural law behind feudalism, and an actuating agreement on the proper law and custom behind feudal relationships. The impression given by the author is only fractionally true. It should be noted that in mathematics, a fraction times another fraction results in a smaller fraction.

Economic, political and social power, the special field of this book, is abstracted from "ideologies." As given in the book, the only relation of an "ideology" to social power is that of instrument: a weapon of propaganda, a sedative to calm the conscience, or a war cry to get action. There is no examination of "ideologies" for themselves. The impression given here is very Marxian, for the idea seems implicit that religion, metaphysics and morality are nothing but "superstructures," epiphenomena resting upon the "real" economic and material base. This lingering Marxism is most dramatized by the assumption of the book that if capitalism dies, then the "superstructure" of the age of capitalism passes away with it—democracy, republicanism, and an indefinite amount besides. It is crude thinking which dismisses the fundamental doctrines enshrined in the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution of the US as mere expression of subjective hopes, wishes and fears without even attempting to demolish the long established position that they are but statements of objective natural law. It is cruder still to lump them with the ideologies of nazism and communism. The nation's fundamental political documents owe their discovery to the Christendom of the Middle Ages, to the social and political struggles, the technique and economy of the eighteenth century; but their roots are deep in the order created by God. The major proposition of the natural law, man is to do good, upon which the whole superstructure of Anglo-American law is reared, is surely not dependent for its truth on any specific type of economic or political order. In truth, only those social institutions which conform to the natural law of God are valid and binding in conscience.

Mr. Burnham is concerned in this volume almost exclusively with what might be called the area of sociology or social action. A reader concerned with the area of legality will certainly object to his development of the theme of dying parliamentarianism and the dispersal of sovereignty among executive boards. The legal fact is that American federal "agencies" are still subject to Congress and the courts. Congress still has great powers, and will have so long as its members know their business and the people believe in freedom. It is always true that legal facts are not identical with social facts. There is always a bridge built by "fiction" and changing customs, interpretations, laws and constitutions. Perhaps the present liveliness of federal administrative boards does not mean that the sovereign powers of Congress have passed over to them, but that the state now sees to it that the economic order serves more adequately the welfare of the whole public rather than of the few at the top of the economic heap. Indeed, to what extent parliamentary institutions are even supposed to function as the active agency of sovereignty, the formulator and guardian of law and the organization for its interpretation in social action is a question. Parliaments everywhere have been more effective making known what the people want than making the laws.

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Externally, then, "the managerial revolution" is not really integrated with the full picture of life which is pertinent to social speculation. Internally it is an extremely well constructed thesis, and its definiteness permits the development of ideas. It presents what is frankly a theory in model form. Since it is a short book, more in the nature of a challenge than a *summa,* we cannot expect to see all questions persuasively dealt with, but it is the kind of book which may well lead to further works about the "managerial revolution."

It is to be noted that its arguments ride rough shod over popular hopes focusing upon a free and generous "mixed economy." It is an indirect but valid attack upon mixed economy to show that the forces leading to the hypothetical "mixture" of capitalism and socialism, co-operation, unionism, etc., are dictated by the same unitary governmental groups. Mr. Burnham's exposure of "the theory of the proletarian socialist revolution" also involves an exposure of the Fabian acclamation of the "inevitability of gradualness," since not only revolutionary communism but also Marxian social democracy falls to the ground under this and other current critical examinations—and the "mixed economy" most spoken about appears very close to a refined and academic social democracy.

But we do not know what alternatives really lie before this country and the world, since we cannot know the limits of men's actions. Not capitalism, not proletarian socialism, but not inevitably managerial society painted in the cruel atmosphere of Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia and the world's war. Mr. Burnham avoids the hortatory mood and programmatic imperative, but only directed human energy can build something out of the present revolutionary period better than the things he expects and dislikes. Totalitarianism presupposes the final breaking of social balance, a rupture which is not absolutely inevitable. The Popes' encyclicals point to a possible pluralism, a sharing of sovereignty among social organisms, a reinforcement of private property linked with social responsibility, a hierarchical organization of society in which the "lower" elements are not defenseless under the "higher," but themselves form the strength for the higher—a system which if worked for by free people, might preserve balance, put the unemployed to work, provide adequate efficiency, and prevent totalitarianism. Social balance, however precarious, is not against nature. "The Managerial Revolution" gives a clear danger signal; men are still free to steer away from the abyss it shows lying under our feet.

JOSEPH M. CALDERON.

HISTORY

History as the Story of Liberty. Benedetto Croce. Translated by Sylvia Sprigge. Norton. $3.75.

Toward a Philosophy of History. José Ortega y Gasset. Norton. $2.75.

NEITHER AUTHOR is a Christian. It is not surprising, therefore, that both are philosophic idealists. Transcendence is nonsense to each. Croce is explicit and rigorous in his opposition to transcendence, not making the vulgar mistake of repudiating a transcendent God to make room for some substitute like humanity, utopia, the whole, truth or the like. History, Croce says, lives within us. It is contained in historical judgments which are not a mere variety of knowledge but knowledge itself. Its documentation is found in our minds. Its judgments are made in answer to practical requirements. Life sets tasks for us to perform and in their solution we must act. But action

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seeks knowledge to light its way. This knowledge is history. The creation of history (not its *acquisition*, as if obtained from outside) is the condition of freedom in action. The mission of history is to afford liberty to man.

History as a system of immanent judgments of the human spirit is never detached from philosophy. Philosophic categories are constitutive elements of history. When separated from the historical—the concrete—philosophy breaks up into fictions. These fictions, creatures not of judgment but of imagination, end up by being believed and spend their later days drawing men off into the underworld peopled by phantasms, which are impotent to furnish guidance relative to vital requirements. *Fingit, creditque.*

Croce holds that the liberty men get from history "will always be formal and legal, and therefore spiritual and moral; material or economic liberty is a meaningless phrase." This sounds like Epictetus. It comes feelingly from Croce since it is to be presumed that nowadays he lives in virtual imprisonment. Croce's book is packed with suggestive ideas and, granted its cardinal premise, it hangs together well. One may take issue with this premise (unqualified immanence) and nevertheless agree fully with innumerable passages stated with great force and clarity. Here is an example:

> It is, in fact, stupid to exalt the state, which can only provide the necessary conditions of stability for the developing of the highest spiritual achievements as if it were the supreme end of these: it is as though one were to say that the end of thought and art and morality was to assure a good digestion to the human organism. The fact that the safety of the state becomes the *suprema lex* in difficult moments of war or upheavals tallies completely with the suspension of higher human activity on occasions when the stomach is upset and must be attended to.

And here is another worthy to be reprinted:

> . . . When periods of barbarism and violence are approaching, it is only for the vile and the foolish that the ideal becomes unfreedom and slavery . . .

This is true provided an amendment be allowed that it is uncertainty, confusion, tumult, hunger and chaos manifesting themselves with violence which first make men so vile and foolish as to choose unfreedom, that is death, in preference to ceaseless noise and insecurity.

Ortega y Gasset's book contains five essays. Those on "Man the Technician" and "The Argentine State and the Argentinean" are brilliantly executed. Anyone deriving enjoyment from freely moving imaginative prose treating of serious questions should put this book on his "must" list. In "Man the Technician" the individual is treated as a drama, a project. Man creates himself. Life is fabrication. The program set for oneself governs the detail of action, so that it is unthinkable that an English gentleman, a Spanish *hidalgo*, a Hindu *Bodhisattva* and a medieval saint should have the same values and be willing to do or be capable of thinking the same things. This idea is close to Cooley's notion of the looking glass personality, with the additional idea that the looking glass into which we peer in order to check on the mode of our day to day formation is of our own creation and is not given as something extrinsic to us.

It is correctly argued by Ortega y Gasset that human history reflects human beliefs. The structure of life and hence of history is grounded on beliefs. Beliefs are faith

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of some kind, and without faith intellect "first amuses, then depraves, and finally causes man to despair and to despise himself." The faith of Ortega y Gasset is in history and in historical reason; sad stuff in fact to form the substance of a faith.

The Argentinean is depicted as a type of opportunist who is familiar to this country also. He is man on the defensive—and on the offensive too—because the place he makes for himself is always provisional. This is the outcome of the newness of the Argentinean state and the unsettled ownership of property, places and prestige. When there are too many chances for change, however, even an Argentinean may miss the main chance. His days are naturally spent in avoiding so great a mishap, and he is often so busy with this problem that he is paralyzed in practical affairs. His aspirations are apt to be boundless. Their very boundlessness tends to make him inert.

Neither Croce nor Ortega y Gasset could live free of restraint in modern Italy or Spain. In terms of statist orthodoxy they are incorrigibles. They are living specimens of what makes revolution a partial failure in all times and all places, for they are men educated in continuity with the past. Granted that they have filiation with a past, which, to use a phrase of Croce, belongs to the phenomenology of error, at least it is *a past*. To have continuity with a past prevents us from thinking we can change the whole word overnight. Unless we can avoid such vertiginous fancies, we are apt materials for revolutionary catastrophes. "Breaking the continuity with the past," says Ortega y Gasset, "wanting to begin again, is a lowering of man and a plagiarism of the orangutan."

JAMES N. VAUGHAN.

BRIEFERS

Foundations of a Modern Guild System—a Dissertation. Harold Francis Trehey, M.A. Catholic University of America Press. $2.00.

A READABLE, well-documented study which cites many authorities to the effect that social reconstruction must come "from below" instead of being imposed from the top. The encyclicals' principle of free association is an important factor here. Those who believe that Salazar's Portugal is a good model will be startled to find that most of the authorities cited say that it is not. This dissertation by a New Zealand priest also makes a strong case for liberty and democracy as beacon-lights in the Catholic social tradition. Emphasizing that the set-up would vary widely from country to country, Father Trehey none the less builds up a rather rigid occupational group structure as the means of realizing social justice under present conditions. Good reading during this period of encyclical anniversaries.

Mr. and Mrs. Cugat. Isabel Scott Rorick. Houghton. $2.00.

THIS steady best-seller for several months is widely advertised as a picture of happy marriage which is to serve as escapist reading for these troublous times. It does indeed string together a series of for the most part amusing incidents that bring out how much the Cugats really love each other. It is sly, sketchy and impressionistic. Apparently there are no children to give greater depth and stability to these mutual ties, and once or twice it looks as if the little home might founder. The sketch of the horsey set in Virgina is one of the most devastating bits of criticism of environment encountered in many a day.

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The Inner Forum

TEN YEARS AGO Pius XI in commemorating the fortieth anniversary of Leo XIII's famous encyclical, *Rerum Novarum,* delivered his own *Quadragesimo Anno.* As this is written, a troubled world anxiously awaits the voice of Pius XII, whose speech will mark the fiftieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum,* as well as the jubilee of his own consecration as Bishop.

Throughout the length and breadth of the land commemorative meetings of every type have been scheduled to take place, not only in all the larger cities but in some of the smaller ones as well. The larger celebrations have been planned for such cities as Chicago, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Buffalo, Rochester, and New York.

In Kansas City, the biggest commemorative assemblage will foregather at the President Hotel on May 22, and will include (among others) theologians, sociologists, philosophers and labor leaders. A "national symposium" on "The Good Life in an Industrial Era" will fittingly recall the great impetus given by the two encyclicals to ameliorating conditions the world over.

The proceedings will be carried on under the discussion group plan. Thus they will not consist solely of a series of talks by the various prominent speakers, among whom the following are expected to attend: Monsignor John A. Ryan of the Social Action Department of NCWC; Monsignor Luigi Ligutti, Executive Secretary of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference; Philip Murray of the CIO; George Meany of the AFL; Fathers John P. Boland, Chairman of the New York State Labor Relations Board; Wilfrid Parsons, S.J. of the Catholic University of America; Gerald Phelan of the Institute of Medieval Studies of the University of Toronto; and such writers as newspaper man William Hard of Washington, D. C.; Frederick P. Kenkel of the Central Verein; Waldemar Gurian of the University of Notre Dame and the *Review of Politics.*

The meetings will be held under joint sponsorship. The first is that of the Department of Social Action of the NCWC, whose chairman and patron is the Most Reverend Edwin V. O'Hara, Bishop of Kansas City. The other sponsor is the Division of Philosophy and Religion, Institute of Social Reconstruction, Rockhurst College.

The ceremonies will be started off with a Mass, at which Monsignor Ryan will deliver a sermon, "Fifty Years of the Social Doctrine of the Church." This Mass will be followed by a luncheon which, it is expected, all the discussion leaders will attend.

The Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems has been holding two-or-three-day meetings in Camden, Rochester, St. Louis, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Harrisburg, and San Francisco. In this latter city Archbishop Mitty has planned the formation of a new group which is to be called "The Catholic Men," a "Department of Social Justice," and was inaugurated at a luncheon on May 14. Representatives of employers and labor unions are included and the general aim will be social education and capital-labor cooperation.

Special encyclical sermons have already been given in Buffalo, and a mass meeting on May 18 was addressed by Bishop Duffy and various prominent laymen in the Catholic social movement of his diocese.

Portland (Oregon) is having a two-week "institute" in the form of a night school for employers, workers, and the general public, which will concentrate chiefly on Catholic social principles and labor relations.

St. Ambrose College in Davenport (Iowa) is planning a two-day conference on June 19 and 20, which will include various talks by priests, employers, union officials and government agents.

Interest in commemorating the two great encyclicals had been manifested as well in numerous events which have been taking place earlier this spring. For example, in Fargo (N. D.) Bishop Muench issued a pastoral letter entitled "The New Social Order," which was read and discussed during Lent, and which was subsequently utilized as a subject for study club discussions.

The Catholic Committee of the South gave considerable attention to the encyclicals during the three-day convention in Birmingham on April 20, 21 and 22.

The second convention of the National Federation of Catholic College Students (held in Washington, D. C.) on April 14 and 15 laid particular emphasis on the two social encyclicals, and suggested various methods of stimulating a further study of them in Catholic colleges.

The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists is planning some form of celebration in most of its ten chapters; in some cases public meetings; in other a Corporate Communion. And in New York City an anniversary celebration of the "Great Labor Letters" was held at the Church of St. Francis Xavier for the principal benefit of workingmen (May 15, 16, 17) with Bishop McIntyre, Monsignor Sheen and Father Parsons as principal speakers.

In Pittsburgh, in addition to the Industrial Conference, there was a Pontifical Mass on May 18. A Communion Breakfast, open to all workers, included a talk by Father John P. Monaghan (founder of the ACTU). Two broadcasts on the encyclicals themselves have been planned for a future date.

One of the departments of *Catholic Action* arranged a national broadcast which was held in panel form on May 10, with Monsignor Ryan, Senator O'Mahoney and Edward Keating participating. This NBC broadcast was entitled "Present Economic Needs," and was likewise held in commemoration.

The interest aroused by these various anniversary observances in various parts of the country will be further implemented this summer. A number of dioceses will conduct social action schools for the clergy in coming weeks. In the fall the labor schools conducted by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, and others, will continue their work of bringing Catholic social principles into the market place.

CONTRIBUTORS

Most Rev. Aloisius J. MUENCH is Bishop of Fargo, North Dakota, credit unions, cooperatives, etc., and in the problems of rural life.

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